CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND TENTH PLENARY MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 6 February 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. Naste Calovski (Yugoslavia)

GE.92-60241/4207B

The PRESIDENT: I declare open the 610th plenary meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

We shall now proceed to take a decision on 39 requests from non-members to participate in the work of the Conference and its subsidiary bodies, in accordance with rules 33 to 35 of the rules of procedure. All these requests have already been circulated to the members of the Conference, for their information. Accordingly, I invite you to consider the Note by the President, which was circulated as document CD/WP.420 and to which all the requests are attached. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Conference adopts the draft decision.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Nigeria.

Mr. BELL-GAM (Nigeria): Mr. President, as this is the first time my delegation is taking the floor, I would like to convey our appreciation at seeing you in the Chair and to also convey our willingness to cooperate with you in the discharge of your duties. We would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the past President and to thank him for the excellent work he did during his presidency.

Mr. President, the Nigerian delegation is aware of the commendable role most non-member States to the CD have played, especially in the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons. This year we have already received over 36 such applications, including that of South Africa.

The Nigerian delegation is aware of the pervasive feeling of optimism in certain circles that the conclusion and signature by South Africa of the Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, subsequent to its July 1991 accession to the NPT, have diminished if not totally removed the threat posed by South Africa's nuclear programme and attendant weapon capability. Undoubtedly, this development bodes well for non-proliferation.

However, the journey along that road, and the removal of the threat has only just begun. That process could only be propelled forward, if the entire range of South Africa's nuclear installation and material are placed under full-scope IAEA Safeguards. As developments in other regions indicate, the cooperation of the international community with the Agency in that process is particularly crucial to the restoration of confidence that South Africa would abide by the intent and letter of her agreement.

Mr. President, our concept of security goes beyond the traditional concerns of military security. Like the rest of the world, what Africa needs now more than at any other time in the past, are a stable, peaceful and secure environment and freedom as well as the right to pursue our chosen path democratically.

We are currently negotiating a multilateral Convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of

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chemical weapons and on their destruction. There is every reason to believe that South Africa possesses chemical weapons. There must be an assurance that as an Observer, they will not only contribute constructively towards elaborating the Convention but also recognize the paramount need for universality. For that reason, my delegation will not block consensus this time around, as all potential violators should be brought into the negotiating process. Nigeria reserves the right to block future consensus on this matter. This is more so until South Africa becomes a free, democratic and non-racial society and conducts herself in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is both a matter of enlightened self-interest and the future stability of Africa, which dictate that we give focused attention to the integration of the quest for disarmament, security and development as the greatest challenges of our time.

The PRESIDENT: I thank you for your statement and for the kind words addressed to the Chair.

In connection with the decision that we have just taken, I wish to recall the statement made by my predecessor at the 603rd plenary meeting on 22 August 1991 on seating arrangements for non-member participants in our work: "As regards seating arrangements, non-member participants shall be seated in meetings following the English alphabetical list, beginning with the non-member whose name will be drawn by lot by the President immediately after the initial decision is taken by the Conference, at the beginning of the year, on requests for participation, and rotate at the same time as the Conference."

I shall proceed to do so after adjournment of this plenary meeting, with the assistance of the secretariat.

I wish to note, at this stage, that Chile is included among the non-members who are now invited to participate in our work. I take this opportunity to extend to the representative of Chile in the Conference the deeply felt condolences of members and non-members participating in our work, on the passing away of Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, a well-known political figure in Latin America, who had represented Chile in the Conference during previous annual sessions and whom we had learnt to respect and admire. During his tenure as Permanent Representative of Chile in Geneva, Ambassador Tomic played a major role in all the Geneva-based organizations and I am sure that we shall all miss him. I would kindly request the distinguished representative of Chile to convey also to his Government and to the family of the deceased our sincere condolences.

I have on my list of speakers today the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons for the 1991 session of the Conference, Ambassador Batsanov of the Russian Federation, who will introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee contained in document CD/1116.

I give the floor to the representative of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Batsanov.

Mr. BATSANOV (Russian Federation) (translated from Russian): Thank you Mr. President. First of all, I should like to express my satisfaction over the fact that we have just taken a decision on the participation in the work of our Conference for this year of a large number of countries which are not members of the Conference on Disarmament. They now number 39, a number which equals that of the Conference members, and this is a quite interesting development. I am convinced that these non-member States in respect of whom we have just adopted this positive decision will make an active and constructive contribution to our work. I take this opportunity also to express my gratitude to you, Sir, for the consensus that it has been possible to reach under your leadership. In addition, I should also like to associate myself with your words of condolence addressed to our Chilean colleagues in connection with the passing away of Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, whom all of us knew so well and greatly respected.

Today, I should like to introduce the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons, which I had the honour to chair during the 1991 session of the Conference on Disarmament. As you have indicated, Mr. President, this report has been distributed by the secretariat as document CD/1116, dated 20 January 1992, and it describes the results of the Ad Hoc Committee's work for the period from September 1991 to 20 January 1992 inclusive.

The report retains the format of previous years: a technical part, the draft text of the Convention on the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction (Appendix I); and an Appendix II, which contains various papers reflecting results of work undertaken on a number of issues relating to the draft Convention. In comparing this report with the preceding report of the Ad Hoc Committee, contained in document CD/1108, one cannot fail to note that during the latest period the so-called rolling text has been amplified with a good deal of new material, much of it formulated in treaty language. This mainly concerns verification issues, which have been among the central issues in our negotiations. Appendix I contains wording for the second part of article IX - a space that has long remained blank.

Furthermore, part III of the Protocol on Inspection Procedures has been considerably redone, its text reflecting new ideas put forward in the course of last year and the results of their discussion by the participants in negotiations. Appendix II contains new texts of annexes to article VI reflecting the considerable work done on clarifying and improving the verification mechanism for civilian chemical industry. Appendix II also contains for the first time provisions in treaty language pertaining to the composition, functions and decision-making procedure of the executive council. Also to be found in Appendix II are draft provisions on the financing of the future organization and the results of last year's discussion of so-called old stocks of chemical weapons.

Numerous additions and clarifications have been introduced into the draft Convention representing the results of the work done in various structures of the Ad Hoc Committee; and a number of footnotes that reflected unagreed

(Mr. Batsanov, Russian Federation)

positions on the part of participants have been eliminated. This concerns primarily the inclusion of definitions relating to the chemical industry in article II "Definitions and Criteria", and the "footnote purge" of articles XVII "Signature", XIX "Accession" and XXI "Entry into Force". Thus, for the first time in the history of the negotiations, we now have all the articles of the draft convention formulated in treaty language. Of course, many of them are open to further considerable work. The status of the various elements is not the same and I should like to stress that in my opinion more could have been achieved during the past year. Progress in the solution of a number of important issues turned out to be less significant than might have been expected. Evidently, the Chairman too did not exploit all the opportunities that presented themselves in the negotiating process.

But, be that as it may, I believe that we now have a real prospect of completing the negotiations successfully in the course of 1992. At the same time, unless the pace of agreeing our positions on substance increases in the very near future, this opportunity too may become uncertain. We are now coming under extreme time pressure and all of us must clearly bear this in mind. The success or failure of the negotiations will not only mean the realization or the abandonment of the idea of creating a world free from chemical weapons, with all the consequences of either for the security of every one of our countries, but also will have a most telling impact on the dynamics of the disarmament process as a whole, on the attitude of Governments to the potential of multilateral diplomacy in the field of disarmament and, if you will, on the fate of our forum, the Conference on Disarmament.

Therefore, the time has come in the negotiations on chemical weapons to separate the primary from the secondary, the priority tasks from issues which can be put off to a later time without harm to our goal or to one's positions, to separate real from fancied interests and real concerns from bargaining chips. Indeed, just to solve highly complex problems of principle requires immense pressure, unorthodox attitudes, inventiveness and a willingness to make mutual concessions on the part of the participants in the negotiations and the members of the Ad Hoc Committee and its Bureau headed by its Chairman.

I venture to express the view that at this stage special attention and efforts are demanded by such issues as challenge inspections, verification in commercial industry, the future of export control measures, the composition of the executive council and the problem of so-called "old" chemical weapons.

It should also be borne in mind that the present "rolling text" is the result of years of effort. Some of its provisions do not form the happiest combination with others. They, or other sections and wordings reflect concepts and a vision of security and of the objectives of the future convention that differ as to the time of their formulation and as to substance. Some of them may no longer entirely correspond to the new realities. Therefore, this material needs to be reduced to a common denominator.

(Mr. Batsanov, Russian Federation)

I would like, however, to conclude on an optimistic note and express confidence that the document being presented today will be the last "rolling text" of the draft convention and that the next report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons submitted to the Conference will contain the final agreed draft.

Mr. President, in summing up the results for the past year, I cannot fail to mention the important contribution to the negotiations made by the members of the Ad Hoc Committee's Bureau, the Chairman of Working Group A, Mr. Mashhadi (Iran), the Chairman of Working Group B, Mr. Gizowski (Poland), the Chairman of Working Group C, Mr. Perugini (Italy), and the friends of the Chair, Ambassador Brotodiningrat of Indonesia, Mr. Canonne (France) and Mr. Meerburg (Netherlands). They went about their difficult functions, sacrificing their spare time, with a high degree of responsibility. To a large extent it is thanks to their efforts that progress could be made on a number of the unsettled issues we faced.

I should also like to express my warmest words of gratitude to the personnel of the secretariat and in the first place to our virtually permanent Secretary of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons Mr. Bensmail and his deputy, Ms. Hoppe, as well as to Ms. Darby. Their experience and professionalism are highly prized by all participants in the negotiations. I express my gratitude also to the interpreters and translators, with their wonderful knowledge not only of linguistic nuances but also of chemical terminology.

And, naturally, I cannot fail to express my profound thanks to all delegations and representatives of States members and non-members of the Conference on Disarmament for their cooperation, for their readiness to find mutually acceptable solutions and for their support of others, including me as Chairman, and to all members of the Bureau of our Ad Hoc Committee for the period now concluding.

In completing my work as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee by introducing this report today, I want with all my heart to wish the present Chairman, the distinguished Ambassador of Germany, His Excellency, Adolf Ritter von Wagner, the greatest success at this crucial stage of finalization of the work on such a profound and complex document as this first multilateral disarmament instrument in the history of mankind. His great diplomatic experience, his fine sense of tact, his purposefulness and his ability to find mutually acceptable compromises in the most difficult situations are the qualities that led to Ambassador von Wagner's election to the post of Chairman. Ambassador von Wagner faces complex, difficult but solvable tasks. I wish to assure him that the delegation of the Russian Federation, and here I am speaking as the Ambassador of my country, is open to the closest possible cooperation with him in achieving our common lofty goal, the conclusion of a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons. With that I will conclude.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for introducing the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chemical Weapons. I wish also to congratulate him on the hard work that he has done so successfully as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee. 1991 was a year of substantial progress in the negotiations on the draft convention banning all chemical weapons. The report tabled today will be the basis for our work this year, when we are expected to conclude the draft convention.

I now give the floor to the representative of Brazil, Ambassador Amorim, who will speak on behalf of the delegations of Argentina and Brazil.

Mr. AMORIM (Brazil): Mr. President, first of all, I want to stress in my own name and in that of my delegation, the grief we all experienced on the passing away of Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, a very distinguished diplomat and indeed a statesman, who was a symbol of dedication to the values of democracy and social justice in Chile and in Latin America. Let me also ask you, Mr. President, to convey to Ambassador Calovski my congratulations on his appointment as President of the Conference on Disarmament. We have already witnessed many fruitful results made possible by his able guidance in this important period of the session when understanding and compromise are so needed, so that the Conference can have an appropriate start. I would also like to extend to Ambassador Horacio Argeaga of Venezuela, a good friend of Brazil, the congratulations and thanks on the part of my delegation, and also in the name of that of Argentina, for the very proficient way in which he discharged his duties as the last President of the Conference on Disarmament for the 1991 session.

In August 1991, before the end of last year's session of the Conference on Disarmament, Ambassador Roberto García Moritán, of Argentina, addressed this plenary in the name of the delegations of Brazil and Argentina, to provide information with regard to the Agreement for the Exclusively Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy, signed by the Ministers of External Relations of our two countries on 18 July 1991 in Guadalajara, Mexico.

On behalf of the delegations of Argentina and Brazil, it is now my pleasure, and indeed my honour, to refer to that bilateral nuclear agreement as well as to the safeguards agreement our Governments concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency last December. We requested the secretariat of the Conference on Disarmament to circulate the texts of both agreements as official documents of the Conference. They have been published with reference numbers CD/1117 and CD/1118.

The agreement between Brazil and Argentina for the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy was approved by the Congresses of our two countries and entered into force on 12 December 1991. In its article V it established a common system of accounting and control of nuclear materials, with the objective of verifying that nuclear materials in all nuclear activities are not diverted to nuclear weapons or other explosive nuclear devices. To perform this task, a Brazilian-Argentine agency for accounting and control of nuclear materials was created.

(Mr. Amorim, Brazil)

In a very short period of time, a little more than one year, intensive negotiations were carried out by our Governments, bilaterally and with the Agency. This effort made it possible to conclude a comprehensive safeguards agreement involving Argentina, Brazil, the Brazilian-Argentine Agency and the International Atomic Energy Agency itself, which was signed in Vienna on 13 December 1991. To underscore the importance our Governments attached to this whole process, Presidents Collor and Menem were present at the ceremony when the safeguards agreement was signed.

When the safeguards agreement was considered by the Agency Board of Governors on 5 and 6 December, it was referred to by member countries as a possible model for other regions, for it was seen as an important development for the strengthening of the safeguards system and a concrete contribution to non-proliferation. While presenting the agreement for consideration, the Governor for Brazil said he was convinced that it was "a good agreement for us, for the Agency and, indeed, for the international community".

The cooperation developed between Argentina and Brazil for a number of years now in the nuclear field, the exchange of knowledge, experts and materials, numerous technical visits and joint projects, already provided a very high degree of transparency in one of the most sensitive areas of advanced technology. In this connection, let me add a personal note by saying that Ambassador García Moritán and myself as well as other members of our delegations are very proud to have directly participated in this process of cooperation and confidence-building, which paved the way for the conclusion of the nuclear and safeguards agreements we are presenting to you today.

In the view of our Governments, that process of cooperation and those two agreements provide sufficient assurance of the peaceful objectives of our countries' nuclear programmes. While acting in a transparent and responsible manner in this and in other fields of dual-use high technology, we hope to establish a precedent to be followed. It is our expectation that these actions will be matched by the clear recognition in practice, as well as in theory, of our legitimate right to acquire and develop advanced technologies essential to the well-being of our peoples. We also expect the possessors of weapons of mass destruction to commit themselves to accelerated disarmament and to the effective elimination of their nuclear arsenals. This is the option for a safe and stable world in the future.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for the statement that he has just made on behalf of the delegations of Argentina and Brazil, as well as for the kind words he addressed to the Chair.

That concludes my list of speakers for today. Does any other member wish to take the floor at this stage?

I recognize the representative of Chile and I give him the floor.

Mr. GONZALEZ (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for your heartfelt tribute to him who was our dear Ambassador, Radomiro Tomic, who as you know was an outstanding personality in Chilean politics and diplomacy: founder of the Christian Democratic Party, senator, candidate for President of the Republic in 1970 and Chile's Ambassador to Washington, among many other posts he occupied with special and great dignity.

My thanks go also to the delegations of Peru, Mexico, the Russian Federation, Argentina and Brazil, as well as for the numerous expressions of solidarity which we have received outside of this room from the distinguished members of this Conference on Disarmament and all of which demonstrate great sincerity and appreciation, which we value in their full dimension.

There is need for me to say, Mr. President, that I shall have the honour to convey to my Government and to the Tomic family the sentiments expressed at this meeting and the other condolences mentioned, which will be received gratefully and with affection.

Ambassador Tomic, Mr. President, attached the greatest importance to the work of this Conference and to disarmament in general. With his characteristic passion, he often expressed his moral rejection of unrestrained military expenditure in a world in which millions of human beings live under the scourges of poverty, ignorance and disease. Back in 1965, at an international meeting of the World Christian Democratic Youth, which took place in Berlin, Ambassador Tomic, at that time Ambassador of Chile to the United States, said: "My duty and yours is to seek truth to commit ourselves to the utmost to peace and against war. This is the decisive battle of our times and it cannot be won without giving viable political expression to the essential oneness of the human race, making a reality of international justice between powerful and weak States, translating the solidarity of the rich peoples with the developing peoples into deeds of massive magnitude to make it fitting. That is the only true battle for peace".

Tomic, paradoxically, was a fighter for peace and justice. He defined his life as a struggle, himself as a champion of the poor and the exploited within the parameters revealed to him by his profound Christian faith. This was shown when, in addressing this Conference on 28 February 1991, he said, quoting His Holiness, John Paul II: In this world, divided and disturbed by conflicts of every kind, the conviction is growing of a radical interdependence and consequently of a necessary solidarity to accept it and to shift it into the sphere of morality. Today, perhaps more than ever before, men realize that they have a common destiny to build together if they wish to avoid catastrophe for all.

It is for those values that we shall always remember Ambassador Tomic. We sincerely thank you for associating yourselves with that memory and with the deep sorrow of all Chileans.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the distinguished representative of Chile. I recognize the distinguished representative of the United States of America and I give him the floor.

Mr. BRECKON (United States of America): Mr. President, I have asked for the floor on behalf of the Western Group of States members of the Conference on Disarmament to join the expressions of condolence upon the passing away of Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, the former Ambassador of Chile to this Conference.

Ambassador Tomic dedicated heart and soul to his high office. He played an active role in the work of the Conference on Disarmament. He was held in high esteem by his colleagues for his professional and personal skills. His integrity, his intellectual qualities, his sincerity were valued by all of us. He will be remembered as a man of great ability and good will who not only represented his country with distinction, but also gained our friendship and respect.

On behalf of the Western Group, Mr. President, I extend to the delegation of Chile and to Ambassador Tomic's family, our deeply felt condolences and sympathy.

The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the distinguished representative of Poland.

Mr. GIZOWSKI (Poland): Mr. President, it is with deep regret that we have learnt during the inter-sessional period, of the passing away of our former colleague, Ambassador Radomiro Tomic, Permanent Representative of Chile as a non-member State. The Eastern Group wishes, through me, to convey to the distinguished delegation of Chile, its sincere solidarity and deep sadness. Ambassador Tomic was dedicated to this body and made a valuable contribution to its work. We wish to extend our heartfelt condolences at the premature death of this distinguished and eminent colleague, to his family with whom we share the pain of this irreparable loss. He will remain in our memory for ever.

The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform you that the President is continuing his consultations concerning a number of organizational questions before the Conference. In that connection, I am pleased to report to you that agreement has been reached on how we should deal with agenda item 2, "Cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament" and agenda item 3, "Prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters". We shall hold a series of informal meetings on the agenda items, and the discussions at those informal meetings will be duly reflected in the annual report of the Conference to the General Assembly of the United Nations. The President will, after the decision is taken, read out his list of topics, which will not be binding on any delegation. This arrangement will be taken up at our next plenary meeting, when I hope that we will be in a position to advance further our consideration of organizational matters.

I have no other business for today.

(The President)

Before I adjourn this plenary meeting, I should like to recall that we shall hold an informal open-ended consultation in this conference room, in five minutes' time, on the best modalities for addressing the question of "Transparency in armaments", which has been transmitted to us by General Assembly resolution 46/36 L.

As you know, we are now holding one plenary meeting per week, on Thursdays, in accordance with the decision taken at the 575th plenary meeting of the Conference. However, we also agreed on that occasion that flexible provisions would be made to allow for a second plenary at any time. I have been informed that we might expect a high-level visitor who wishes to address the Conference early next week. May I therefore suggest that we authorize the secretariat to convene that second plenary meeting upon confirmation of that visit.

I see no objection. We shall proceed accordingly.

This means that, in addition to our regular plenary meeting on Thursday, 13 February, at 10 a.m., we might hold another plenary meeting earlier in the week.

The meeting stands adjourned.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.